

THE SECOND EDITION.

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A FAREWELL  
WARNING  
TO  
MY COUNTRY,  
BEFORE  
THE HOUR  
OF  
DANGER.

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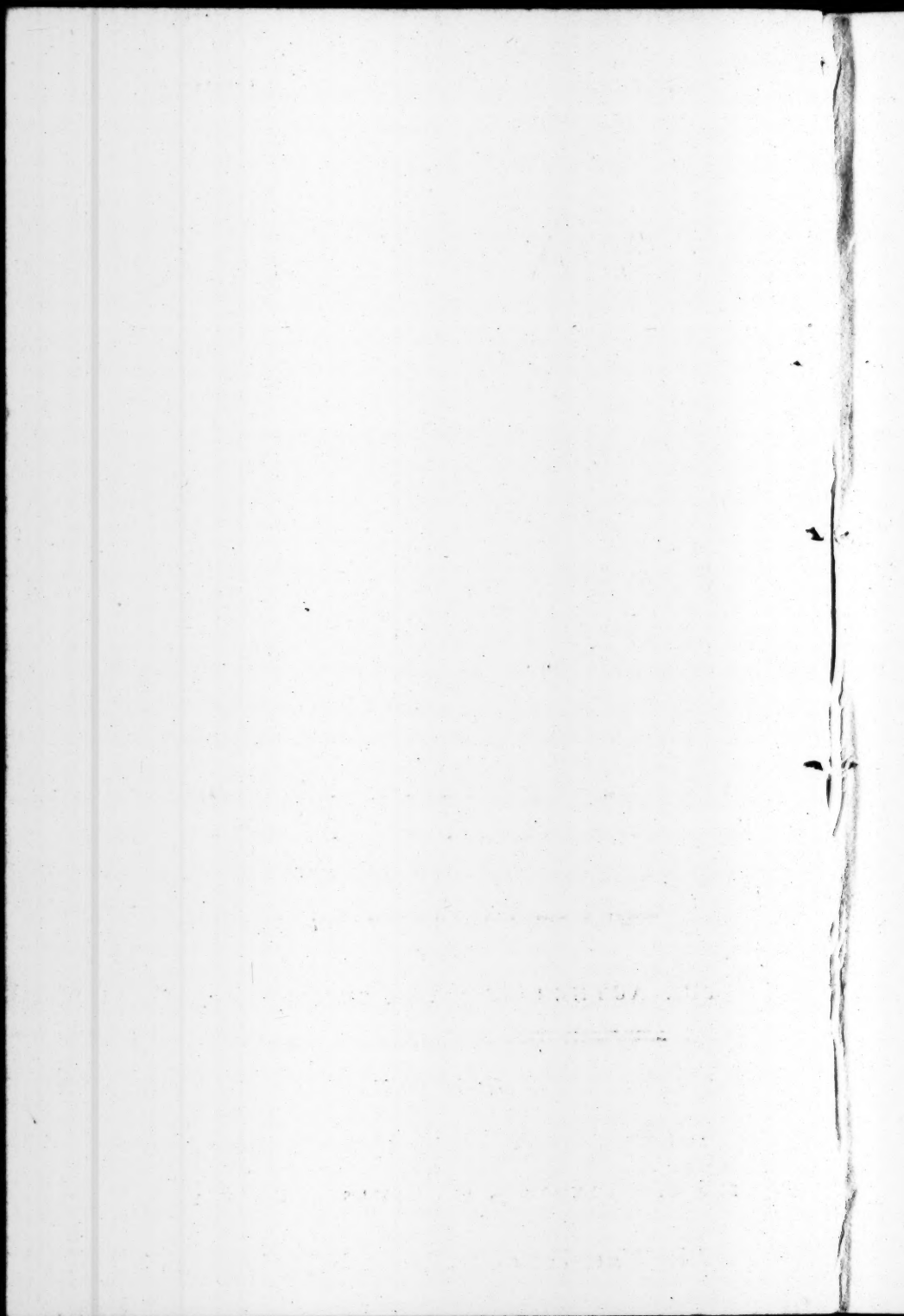
BY  
THE AUTHOR OF "THE CRISIS," &c. &c.

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MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

THE day approaches fast, in which we must cast the last lot for ourselves, for our wives, for our children, and our posterity. The ancient and venerable fabric of our Government; our old and hereditary Freedom; our just and equal Laws; our sacred Christian Establishment; this fair and cultivated Island; this vast and endearing population, of every age and sex; the scenes of industry and comfort that every where surround us; and every means of procuring or securing peace and solid contentment on this side of our graves;—all are brought, by the tide of events, to their last hazard, and are made to depend for ever upon our conduct in THE APPROACHING HOUR OF OUR TRIAL.

In offering to you a few thoughts suggested by the contemplation of a crisis so extremely awful and severe, let me endeavour to obtain for a few moments your attention and confidence, by laying claim to the most perfect independence of political principle and opinion ; by disclaiming, in the most solemn and unequivocal manner, every concern or interest whatever in *party-politics* or *party-politicians* ; and by declaring, that, in the present alarming condition of my country, I can conceive no other distinction amongst us than that by which all Europe and all Christendom are now unhappily distinguished ; namely, the interests of anarchical tyranny, of impiety, and **FRANCE** ; and those of regulated freedom, of religion, and of **ENGLAND**. It has never been my personal lot to taste, in the smallest portion, of Court or Ministerial favour ; so that my anxiety in the present juncture can only be inspired by that one great interest common to us all—of being **AN ENGLISHMAN, BORN TO FREEDOM BY INHERITANCE, AND POSSESSING IT**. The mere thought of seeing this precious birth-right wrested from me, fills me with agony ; and the impious attempt of invading it, calls up all my resentment.

With these sentiments, arising from such principles, I may venture to proceed to relieve



lieve those feelings which attach me to the name of England, by offering you one short and last address before we are each called to our several tasks, to take our respective shares in the labour, and, I pray God, in the GLORY also, of the day. Much time has been afforded us to think and to talk, and to adapt our feelings to our fate, but that time is now at an end; the time is now arrived, in which we all must ACT; and I need not to remark, that the only rule to direct our acting in this, as in every other occasion, must be OUR DUTY.—By OUR DUTY, and by that alone, we are to be guided under our approaching trial; and it is, most assuredly, high time for us to make ourselves familiar with a rule, on the due use of which depends every earthly interest that we can hold dear.

The particular objects towards which our duty now commands our attention, are FOUR :—  
 I. OUR FAMILY :—II. OUR COUNTRY :—  
 III. OUR SOVEREIGN :—and, IV. OUR GOD.  
 If we keep *these objects* steadily in our view, and conduct ourselves towards them inflexibly by *that rule*, we may venture, without presumption, to consider ourselves as safe, impregnable, and in the end victorious.

We are summoned forth, My Fellow Countrymen to act as becomes brave and honest men, good Christians, and faithful subjects and fellow-citi-

zens, against a combination of resolute and ferocious enemies, consisting of FOUR distinct and formidable bands; and nothing but the most STEADY UNION among ourselves, the most DETERMINED TEMPER towards each other, and the most HEROIC VALOUR in our common efforts, can enable us to subdue them.

I. The *first* and foremost of these enemies, is that insulting and sanguinary foe, who has thrown all Christendom out of the possession of peace, and who still strives, with unabated fury, to sink the whole into desolation and ruin. This foe consists of the TYRANTS of France, together with the various armies that their usurpation has brought under their obedience; and who, insulting all mankind with the name of *Liberty*, are endeavouring, by every power of intense tyranny, to extinguish the FREEDOM of Britain, which alone is able to offer them an effectual opposition. Such are the DIRECTORY OF FRANCE, and all the innumerable instruments of their ferocity and pillage. But, when we call to mind, My Countrymen, *how long*, through the mercy of Providence, FREEDOM has been a treasure of British inheritance; that, before those blood-suckers of Europe had begun to lisp and to disgrace the name of *Liberty*, our English ancestors

cestors were in the quiet possession and familiar practice of that FREEDOM which they have faithfully transmitted down to us ; when we call all this to mind, we shall scarcely, I trust, become the dupes of their frantic artifices, or surrender up so sterling a treasure for a counterfeit so mischievous and false.

II. Our *second* enemy, and I blush to describe him, is, that body of degenerate and apostate Britons—those unnatural and consummate traitors—sold to the interests of France, and weaned from every sentiment of social tenderness for the land of their nativity, who live dispersed and concealed amongst us ; miscreants who, under the cover of an infamous secrecy, stand ready to inflict a wound of death on the heart of their country, and to yield up their fellow countrymen to misery, proscription, and the sword. I am willing to grant, that these MONSTERS, considered in themselves, or in respect to us, may be few in number ; but, considered as acting in concert with an army of successful invaders, as instructed in all their ways, and zealous to promote and imitate all their atrocities, they are too many, and too great. My Countrymen, NOTE THESE WELL ! These are, by many degrees, our most real, most determined, and most destructive enemies.

III. The *third* description of enemy (and it is one which I view with singular anxiety,) is the French Army (if I may so describe them) already landed within our country ; and consisting of no less than between twenty and thirty thousand French prisoners of war ; men enured to martial practices, and accustomed to a rapacious warfare ; and constrained only by walls, easily to be broken through, as soon as the military guard which now defends them shall be called in part away, to oppose the progress of a foreign invader. —And to this number, I fear we must expect, from the corruption of human nature, to add some renegadoes of the various foreigners who now fatten on the riches of our land ; and even some from among the Emigrants themselves, who will not scruple to bring down shame and ruin on the honourable and virtuous part of their unfortunate brethren, by making us the price of their peace and restoration at home.

IV. The *fourth* and last enemy, is the great mass of ROGUES, VILLAINS, and VAGABONDS, who swarm in every country, and who are only kept in check by the vigilance of the laws, and by the quick and vigorous administration of public justice. These will of course avail themselves of the first moment of general confusion, to commit those acts of outrage, of pillage, and of violation of every kind, in the

metropolis and throughout the interiour of the kingdom, to which their characters impel them, and from which the activity of the law, and the force possessed by government, at present deter them.

SUCH are the FOUR descriptions of enemies whose combination threatens our prosperity, our independence, and even our very existence; and against whom OUR DUTY now summons us forth to act, in earnest and with zeal, on behalf of our *Families*, our *Country*, our *King*, and our *God*. I need not take up time to point out to you, how formidable the union of four such bloody associates must prove to us all, if ever they can accomplish an union; nor what perfect determination and energy of conduct is required on our part, in order to prevent it.—If you consider them well, either as single or united, you must plainly see, that the GREATEST DEGREE of vigour, of union, and of activity, is the very LEAST that we must pretend to contribute.

I. What we owe to our FAMILIES, will be best prompted by our *hearts*; which, if I mistake not, will warmly tell us, that we owe to them the stoutest PROTECTION that our hands can give. All WE, whose honourable lot it is to be now called forth to act in the public cause, and who consist of all ages between *sixteen* and



*sixty*, have either parents, or sisters, or wives, or children, or all. To protect them with our utmost ability against the storm of misery which threatens them, is the least duty we can owe them; and let us MARK THIS WELL, that according to the defence we make, so will be their final security. If our defence is weak, we may well shudder at the thought of the horrors to which we surrender them. RUIN, RAVISHMENT, and MASSACRE, are the only destinies that can attend them; as the horrible proof of experience and example demonstrate with too much certainty. If we will therefore so wisely use our imaginations as to let them minister to our reason and our hearts, by picturing to us the aged perishing in shame, poverty, and despair; our wives, and our sisters, insulted, ravished, and abandoned; and our darling infants desolate, famished, and forgotten.—If, I say, we will wisely forestall in fancy this horrible but certain consequence of defeat, I can scarcely permit myself to doubt, that the in-born freedom, the honest pride, the courage, and the virtue of England, will break out into a flame of heroic valour from one end of the island to the other; giving defiance to every foe, and covering every hostile device with ruin and confusion.

II. Secondly, We owe to our COUNTRY every use of our PERSONS and our PROPERTY. But when

only be used by our country in supporting the general cause, we shall perceive, that what we exert for *our country*, we in truth exert for *ourselves*, or for those *dearer* to us than ourselves : that the sacrifices we now make, whatever they may be, will finally return, to us or to them, in the shape of *Security, Prosperity, and Peace*.—

At the present moment, the first and plainest commandment of our duty is, to unite and co-operate, with heart and hand, to support and strengthen the lawful authority of government ; to relieve it from the embarrassments and distractions of unprincipled opposition ; and to assist in giving energy and dispatch to all the measures which it is called upon to use, for applying our public force to the defeat and confusion of our public enemy.

Every conduct different from this, whether it be of obstructing the action of government, or of withholding from it the vigour we are able to impart to it, is of THE SAME STAMP ; both are in obstinate rebellion to the plainest dictates of duty. As the laws of most countries have involved in the guilt of murder, not only the active assassin, but the idle spectator who might have prevented the deed ; so do reason and sentiment equally impeach, at the bar of public opinion, those who idly look on upon the violation of their



country, as those who are active in its violation. Our *duty*, therefore, calls loudly upon us to display every virtue of a good citizen and a faithful subject ; to awaken a principle of courageous fidelity, of confidence in, and submission to, the public authority ; and to be assisting, to the utmost of our power, in removing those various obstructions, which must always more or less embarrass a charge so arduous and difficult as that of CIVIL GOVERNMENT. It is our duty, at the PRESENT HOUR, to promote, by the force of *private example*, a spirit of DISCIPLINE, by which alone we can reasonably hope to end with triumph the great contest in which we have so long been engaged ; and to concur zealously with government, by every possible method, for the destruction of the common enemy ;—whether by facing that enemy upon the coasts,—or by encountering the first attempts of internal treason,—or by readily surrendering our cattle and stock to the trust of those who may be appointed to remove them beyond the reach of the invader,—or by being forwardly active in assisting to drive them ourselves. Whenever a people is so largely assailed as to be compelled to stand up TOGETHER in their own defence, they then necessarily assume the character of an immense ARMY. They bring together all their indi-

individual *means of force*, in order to employ them by the *best rule*. As that rule is peculiar to military art, they are obliged to adopt the process which military science only can teach ; to admit all its principles, and to conform to all its regulations ; and thus they become able to direct their several disunited and multitudinous powers, with UNION, DEXTERITY, ENERGY, and DISPATCH. Hence we may trace the obvious reason, why military authority has in every age and nation superseded for a short time municipal law, whenever an enemy has brought his attack into the bosom and bowels of a country. Hence also the cause of that success, by which unmilitary bodies have so often been rendered able to oppose, encounter, and defeat, the most formidable military arrays.—SUCH, My Countrymen, is our present case ; and we may esteem ourselves to be highly happy, that measures are so wisely and ably prepared for putting every thing in train to this end, and for converting us into a military host, whenever our infatuated foe shall come and court his ruin on our fields. This conversion of nations into military hosts, this transition from civil to military power in the hour of extreme public danger, in order that every man may be able to render that service *effectual* which would otherwise be *feeble* or *useless*,

*useless*,—this, I say, is the natural process of all well-regulated and well-constituted societies; and proceeds from that universal principle of reason by which it has always been held,—“*That EVERY MAN is BORN HIS COUNTRY’S SOLDIER in the LAST RESOURCE.*”

This illustrious principle however, gives the greatest annoyance, the deepest affliction, and the most sincere alarm, to the *second* class of those enemies which I have already described. They think, and with great truth, that it presents to them an obstacle beyond their power to surmount. Accordingly, they apply themselves with all their accustomed industry to the means of fraud and delusion, and endeavour to inspire us with a jealousy of military power; hoping that the public declaration of such a jealousy on our part, may prevent that impediment from being applied.—But, My Countrymen, let us smile with pity or contempt at the weakness and stupidity of such an artifice.—“*Military power exercised OVER a nation,*” and “*A nation ITSELF raised up into military energy,*”—are things as widely different as *day and night*. THEY indeed may know, by the promptings of their consciences, that they belong to the *former* of those cases; THEY may be sensible, that they are the *proper objects* for the exercise of that military force which they behold in us, and at

which they tremble. But *WE*, my countrymen, belong to the *latter* case ; and if, while *WE* are wrought up into military vigour in order to be able to oppose and overwhelm *all* our enemies, foreign or domestic, open or concealed, *THEY* feel themselves deprived of the power of openly exercising their plots of treason, and are galled by the pressure of our ranks, let us rejoice in our formidable strength, and never suffer it to be weakened and unnerved by the arts of their treachery and cunning. No, My Fellow Countrymen ; let them gnash the teeth, and burst with disappointment, at the posture of our defence ; but God forbid that we should be so sunk in folly, as to be cozened and *taken in* by their artifice, or give up that solid security which, by God's blessing, we now hold in our hands. As military strength is the strongest of all, so our national strength will then be most strong when it shall have assumed a military shape.—When we are able, in the moment of extreme emergency, to act together, *AT ONCE*, from *ONE HEAD*, and employing all our members to *ONE AND THE SAME END* ; when uniformity and exactness of discipline and temper are adopted and promoted amongst us *ALL*, then may we bid defiance, under God, to the utmost fury of external war, and to the most unnatural efforts of internal treason.

III. Thirdly, We owe to our KING every thing that justice, and honour, and freedom independent of his power, can suggest to the heart of a Briton. We owe him the duty of ALLEGIANCE, discharged with a sentiment of affectionate LOYALTY equal to his virtues, equal to his rigid fidelity to the engagements of his crown, and equal to his inflexible adherence to the honour and independence of this Empire. We owe to him, My Countrymen, to counteract, in every way and with the utmost diligence, the base and cowardly arts which have been so long and so successfully exercised by the traitors of the realm, in concert with the foreign foe, for degrading his office and person to the level of the lowest and most scurrilous ribaldry, in order to sap those foundations of duty and allegiance, on which our mild and temperate monarchy is built. We owe to him, to restore back to his AUTHORITY, that decent and necessary respect of which it has been so infamously abridged; and to discharge, to his PERSONAL CHARACTER, that debt of justice and high esteem, which the profligacy and meanness of faction so resolutely and so scandalously withhold from it. We owe to him, to co-operate faithfully, in our capacity of subjects, with his magnanimous and unremitting exertions, as CHIEF MAGISTRATE, in the discharge

of



of his high duties. We owe to him, to screen him, with all the gallantry of honour, with all the determination of virtue, from the dastardly attacks to which his Regal Eminence may expose his life, his person, or his happiness, from the traiterous monsters of the age. We owe to him, in short, every thing that freedom, that honour, that esteem, that gratitude can inspire into genuine British hearts, unwarped and undiseased by the poisonous influence of France.

IV. Lastly, my Countrymen, we have great and very weighty duties to discharge towards **ALMIGHTY GOD**; the observer and judge of us all; in the hour which **HE** will presently assign for the trial of this nation. To **HIM**, indeed, all our duties ultimately belong; and those that we have already considered are therefore our duties, because they are manifestly His Will, and are conformable to the principles which He has implanted. But, besides these, there are duties of which **HE** is the immediate object; and which arise out of that singular situation in which His Goodness has placed us, and out of that relation in which we stand towards our enemies. In **THIS LAND**, **HE** has established a sanctuary for that sacred Gospel, whose purity was restored at the Reformation after many ages of superstitious corruption; and which was  
then

then committed in its native form to this favoured island, where, by His Good Providence, it still continues, secure and unmolested. Cut off from the continent of Europe, we may perhaps live to see a *moral* reason for our *geographical* separation. In the disorder which the mysterious Wisdom of God now suffers to disturb more or less the body of Christendom, it may perhaps be His awful plan to secure here that Gospel against which the gates of hell will never finally prevail; and at a future day to dispenle again from this retreat that treasure of pure religion, which the interests of impiety and atheistical fury, now raging over the continent of Christendom, are every where endeavouring to annihilate.—We tremble, when we hear it published under the sanction of a French Legislature,—“ NO MONARCHY *above, if we wish to preserve our* REPUBLIC *below;*” but when we also hear it avowed, that “ *The FRENCH REPUBLIC and the BRITISH CONSTITUTION cannot both exist together,*” our terror is changed to exultation; and we trace with a reasonable and pious joy the union thus marked out, between our country and our Christian profession. When we view the present condition of the Christian World; when we see the awful termination of that PAPAL SOVEREIGNTY, from whose authority issued the corruptions that have cast a shade over



the Christian name during so many ages ; when we perceive the fairest part of the nations where those corruptions prevailed delivered up to the rule of positive impiety ; and when we see the Gospel faith secured within the insular fortress of this happy land, in all the purity with which it was first promulgated ; we cannot but suspect that the Counsels of God are working to some great end of that dispensation ; and that WE, to whom this sacred deposit is confided, are bound, under a most heavy responsibility, to discharge the duties prescribed by the singularity of our position. Under this apprehension, we can do no less than stand forward with our utmost zeal, to oppose the inroads of that un-Christian power in this land ; to give all honour to the Christian Law, by exemplary obedience to its commands ; and to defend the Christian Cause, so distinctly assigned to our trust.—Not in a spirit of crusade, not with the rancour of bigotry ; but calmly, soberly, and with Christian valour, to interpose our lives between our religion and the enemy.

Thus, My Fellow Countrymen, I have endeavoured to point out the great objects towards which our duty now commands our attention ; and to represent, in a general way, the nature of the conduct which that particular duty prescribes. There, remains, however, one remark, the importance

of which demands your most serious concern. — Never did the British name receive so black a stain as from the extent of treason now circulating within the kingdom. Every day brings out to light new and frightful proofs of the deepest and most connected system, for subverting the constitution in concert with the enemy, for creating a general confusion by the most flagitious of means, and for abandoning the wealth, the honours, the beauty, and infancy of Britain, to plunder, to proscription, to violation, and to misery. My Countrymen, will posterity believe, that, in a moment so dreadful, so pregnant with mischief and destruction, there could exist in *any man* a fear or a shyness of delivering up to justice persons implicated in, or any way connected with, such atrocities? that the cunning of treason should have succeeded in teaching the public mind to take fright at the name of an INFORMER, or should have seduced any persons to consider that to be an act of disgrace, which is in truth the first act of honest duty, and of principled courage? that any should have suffered themselves to be made such FOOLS, as to allow miscreants to conspire for their ruin, and shrink back from the task of giving public information, through some vague and undefined delicacy towards the conspirators? If the public opinion has, in  
any

any instance, been so unfortunately twisted and befotted as to conceive it dishonourable to trace out, and bring forward to the bar of public justice, those who are plotting the destruction of us all, of our wives, of our children, and of our property; let us, without loss of time, rectify so sad and shameful an error, and raise up to honour every effort that can drag forth treason from its lurking-place, that can snatch the viper from the bosom which it is preparing to sting, and can bring down upon its head that just vengeance which the voice of God and of man denounce against it. For myself, My Countrymen, if ever it be my good fortune to get upon the train of any secret treason, I pledge myself to be as forward to display by example, as now to profess in words, my firm conviction, that to be the means of bringing treason to its condign punishment—to be AN INFORMER, if you please, in such a cause—and to be therefore instrumental in the preservation of my country, would be one of the most consoling HONOURS, as it is unquestionably one of the most commanding DUTIES, that could attach upon a BRITISH FREEMAN.

And now, My Countrymen, I conclude my address; offering you that FAREWELL, which the busy nature of the times seems now to require. I have, on some former occasions, ventured

tured to obtrude on your notice the suggestions of my heart ; and I flatter myself that those suggestions, in some partial instances, have even gained your approbation. We are now about to separate and disperse, to resort to our respective posts, and to prepare ourselves for that GREAT TRIAL, which is to terminate the bitter contest in which Christendom has been so long engaged. Under what circumstances we may meet again, is a reflection that must fill the stoutest heart with awe :—Thus much, however, we may venture to say, that, if we meet under *self-reproach* and *shame*, we shall assuredly also meet in SLAVERY, MISERY, and RUIN : that, if we meet with *self-applause* and *honour*, we shall most probably meet also in FREEDOM, PROSPERITY, and PEACE.—Let me now, therefore, earnestly request, My Countrymen, (if the request be not found irksome,) that these few remarks may be reserved for a second perusal, when each of you shall retire to your post of duty. I have rendered their bulk as little troublesome as I was able, and I have certainly compressed within them the most momentous objects to which you can direct your thoughts. They may suggest to you many other important reflections, besides those which are expressed ; and it may be some small inducement to you to yield to my request, and to give them  
a further

a further consideration, that they are the honest,  
though imperfect, effusions of

*An Independent Politician,*

*A Firm Christian,*

AND

*A Free-Born Briton.*

## POSTSCRIPT.

IT cannot be out of place to subjoin here the lively and forcible lessons by which an ancient sage has inculcated the duties of UNION and FORESIGHT, which are now so solemnly imposed upon us all.—I shall leave to those who may read to draw out the moral.

### *The Fable of the Lion and the Four Bulls.*

FOUR BULLS, that had entered into a very strict union, kept always near one another, and fed together. The Lion often saw them, and wished to make one of them his prey; but though he could easily have mastered any of them SINGLY, he was afraid to attack THE WHOLE ALLIANCE. At length, perceiving that no attempt could be made upon them as long as the combination lasted, he took occasion, by whispers and hints, to foment jealousies and raise divisions among them.



## POSTSCRIPT.

This stratagem succeeded so well that the BULLS grew cold and reserved towards one another; which soon after ripened into a downright hatred and aversion, and at last ended in a total separation. The Lion *had now obtained his ends*; and, though he found it impossible to hurt them while they were UNITED, he found no difficulty, now they were DIVIDED, to seize and devour every bull *one after another*.



### *The Fable of the Swallow and other Birds.*

A Swallow, observing an husbandman employed in sowing hemp, called the birds together, and informed them what the farmer was about. He told them, that hemp was the fatal material from which nets, so destructive to the feathered race, were composed; and advised them TO JOIN UNANIMOUSLY *in picking it up, in order to prevent the consequences*. The Birds, either disbelieving his information, or neglecting his advice, gave themselves no trouble about the matter. In a little time, the hemp appeared above ground: the friendly swallow again addressed himself to them, told them it was NOT YET TOO LATE, provided they would immediately set about the work, BEFORE THE SEEDS HAD TAKEN TOO DEEP ROOT. But they still rejected his advice, wherefore he forsook their society, repaired for safety to towns and cities, there built his habitation, and kept his residence.

- O ne day, as he was flying along the street, he happened to see a large parcel of those very birds, imprisoned in a cage, on the shoulders of a bird-catcher. Unhappy wretches, said he, you NOW FEEL the punishment of your former neglect. But those who, having no foresight of their own, despise the WHOLESOME ADMONITION OF THEIR FRIENDS, deserve the mischiefs which their own obstinacy or negligence brings upon their heads.

of the most illustrious of our countrymen, who have  
of late, in the most noble manner, sacrificed their  
lives to the service of their country. They have  
suffered for the cause of Liberty, and for the  
happiness of their fellow-citizens. They have  
shown us, by their example, that it is not  
in vain that we are called upon to sacrifice  
ourselves for the good of our country.

I CANNOT refrain, My Countrymen,  
from introducing here by way of appendix to  
my address, some interesting observations, that  
have arrived most happily to confirm the princi-  
ples, on which I have ventured so sanguinely to  
exhort you to UNION and PERSEVERANCE in  
our present contest; and which have completely  
fixed me in the belief I have always entertained,  
that such conduct will not fail to be recompensed  
by the most glorious of results. Some feeble  
and purblind minds have been puzzled to  
conceive, *how* it is possible for any *resistance* on  
our part, though resolute, to *subdue* an ene-  
my, especially one so powerful and trium-  
phant as the Republic of France; and  
they have therefore persuaded themselves, that



the utmost that such a *defensive* system can effect, is to protract the period, when the established Empire of French Democracy shall be able to discharge its Tyranny over us. And this forlorn and indefinite prospect has sunk them into that spiritless and unmanly state of thought, to which their natures must otherwise have been prone. To oppose reason to such despondency has never been a task of difficulty ; there have existed, during the whole progress of the contest, the most clear and triumphant reasons against this fallacy of despair ; but it is the known nature of such a state of mind, to repel every force of argument however strong. For this cause I shall not here adduce *mere argument* ; but argument *so accompanied by authority*, as to rouse the mind out of its lethargy. If a reasonable ground for hoping success, and a probable foresight of the moment when it may arrive, can stimulate us to *persevere* in the labour that remains to be accomplished ; if to *see how* these glorious ends may be obtained, can become a motive to induce us to pursue them ; then, let us contemplate *well* the following observations of a man, distinguished no less for political acuteness than for military ability ;—of a FRENCHMAN ;  
and

—and of an anxious observer of the complicated events, which for some years past have filled up the tragic scene of Europe. It is no other than the celebrated DUMOURIEZ, who thus reasons of the inevitable consequences that must follow an unsuccessful attempt at invasion on the part of France, produced by the valour, the patriotisin, and the united powers of England. Let us weigh well the sound sense they contain; and then let us manfully resolve, that nothing shall induce us to relax from a system of sturdy and resolute *resistance*, whose effect, if persisted in to its due term, will be tantamount to, and must necessarily produce every consequence of, TRIUMPH to us, and RUIN to the ENEMY, that could reward the most active efforts of offensive atchievement.

“ If this expedition SHOULD NOT SUCCEED,  
 “ which *very possibly it may not* ; if the invincible  
 “ fleets of the English gain one decisive battle  
 “ over the French, Spanish, and Batavian fleets,  
 “ combined or separately ; if the English Na-  
 “ tion, equally proud, equally spirited, and  
 “ equally animated by national hatred as the  
 “ French, repels the French Army immediately

“ on its descent, or destroys, or forces it to re-  
 “ embark with loss ; if its communication with  
 “ the sea is cut off ; if it is weakened, harassed,  
 “ starved, and in short fails in this important  
 “ expedition, which can BUT ONCE be at-  
 “ tempted ON A LARGE SCALE,\* and which, if  
 “ executed partially and in detail, may fail of  
 “ success ; THEN, France is *completely undone* ;  
 “ all her laurels wither ; her allies will desert  
 “ and turn against her ; the other powers of  
 “ Europe will attack her on every side ; she will  
 “ have lost the flower of her warriors, and the  
 “ reputation of her arms ; she will be without  
 “ money ; and internal feuds WILL COM-  
 “ PLETE HER RUIN.

“ Another danger which attaches to the  
 “ Members of the Directory and the Councils,  
 “ will result from the despair and revenge of the  
 “ troops, who will consider themselves as sacri-  
 “ ficed to the temerity and ambition of that  
 “ ABHORRED OLIGARCHY. These soldiers,  
 “ who form at present the only support of their  
 “ tyrannical power, will then turn against them,  
 “ and be invited to do so by the general wish  
 “ of the nation, It is at PARIS they will then  
 “ seek for the reward and pillage they are pro-

\* See THE, BRITISH LION, page 25.

“ mised to obtain in ENGLAND. The Generals  
 “ themselves will either become the first victims  
 “ of the fury of the troops, (which may be ex-  
 “ cused,) or share in their indignation and re-  
 “ volt.

“ Nor is it even necessary that the descent  
 “ in England should terminate in a catastrophe  
 “ *disgraceful for the French Arms*, to bring on  
 “ that military explosion against the present  
 “ government of France; it will suffice for this  
 “ purpose, that the expedition be *long pro-*  
 “ *tracted or abandoned* after having been an-  
 “ nounced in such emphatic strains. The  
 “ assemblage of so many idle soldiers, whom  
 “ it will no longer be possible to pay after the  
 “ national treasure is exhausted by this expensive  
 “ show, will likewise excite their indignation,  
 “ and lead them to the same excesses.

“ The Directory seems *to be aware of this*  
 “ *danger*; and the late decree respecting the  
 “ re-establishment of the National Guard, may  
 “ be considered as a measure of precaution against  
 “ the insurrection of the armies. And yet, it  
 “ is by *the same very constitutional decree*, that  
 “ the unfortunate exiles of the 18th Fructidor  
 “ (or 4th of September) 1797, were declared  
 “ *traitors* to the country.

“ It was by the force of the bayonet that the  
 “ Revolution was effected ; it is by the SAME  
 “ FORCE that the present government will be  
 “ destroyed.

“ The chimerical thousand millions of livres  
 “ in land, with which, very imprudently, the  
 “ troops have been amused, have already been  
 “ converted into annuities promised to the  
 “ armies. But can it be supposed, that they will  
 “ rest satisfied with their commutation of real  
 “ and landed property into an annuity, to be  
 “ distributed in an arbitrary manner ; and  
 “ which will be paid, like all the other annuities  
 “ and pensions, with reductions, slowly, and  
 “ in effects which are at a discount ? More-  
 “ over, if the value of the thousand millions  
 “ has not been reserved in land, what security  
 “ is to be given for the enormous amount of  
 “ these annuities ? What will be the result,  
 “ supposing even the French Government is able  
 “ to fulfil the conditions of the decree ? In-  
 “ stead of transforming this class of warriors  
 “ into cultivators and fathers of families, they  
 “ will be converted into a mass of idle annuitants  
 “ and batchelors, who have not the means to  
 “ marry ; they will consequently become either  
 “ use-

“ useless or dangerous, and a dead burthen on  
 “ the nation. The nation ought not to have  
 “ *been deceived*, and much less THE SOLDIERS.  
 “ The *latter* will pant for revenge, and their  
 “ assemblage for the expedition against England,  
 “ and the return of the other armies after the  
 “ conclusion of a general continental peace, will  
 “ furnish them with the opportunity of avenging  
 “ their wrongs.—SUCH IS THE DANGEROUS  
 “ GAME WHICH THE DIRECTORY IS PLAY-  
 “ ING, IN ITS PROJECT OF A DESCENT  
 “ UPON ENGLAND.”

Thus it stands exposed, to the eye of COM-  
 MON SENSE, *how* a system of unrelaxing DE-  
 FENCE, can, in the present instance, produce  
 all the proper consequences of a vigorous OF-  
 FENCE ; namely, by keeping the enemy in  
 exertion, until the disease manifestly rankling  
 within him, and whose crisis we can thus easily  
 compute, shall arrive at the period of its highest  
 malignity. THEN the work will be completed ;  
 not so much by what *we do*, as by what  
*we cause to be done* ; not by inflicting death, but  
 by exasperating the distemper until it becomes  
*incurable*.

This



This work remains to be accomplished, either by that resistance which shall defeat the enemy's attempts in the event of his attaining our shores; or, by throwing such impediments and apprehensions in the way of his embarkation, as shall protract its execution beyond a certain period.—And let us humbly receive, as a presage of success in the latter of these means, that recent and brilliant example of our naval prowess, displayed in the very teeth of the invader, which has bequeathed the name of HOOD to the affection and admiration of posterity; and by which, the unbending pre-eminence of the British Flag, sustained by the aid of Heaven, has transfused fresh mistrust into the victims of the sanguinary design, and inspired into its authors all the alarms of jealousy, and all the determinations of despair.

THE END.